



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

THE CREATIVE FORCES IN WESTWARD EXPANSION: HENDERSON AND BOONE¹

As focus of the old West, Kentucky has always loomed large in the national imagination as the habitat of the American border hero. Boone and Kenton, Harrod and Clark, Callaway and Logan, lurk vast in the wings of the national theatre, dramatic protagonists magnified to almost superhuman proportions in the mist of a legendary past. About them floats the aureole of traditional romance. Wrought with rude but masterly strength out of the hardships and vicissitudes of pioneer life, the heroic conquest of the wilderness, the mortal struggles of border warfare, this composite figure of Indian fighter, crafty backwoodsman, and crude surveyor has emerged as the type-figure in the romance of the evolution of American character. This model, with its invincible fascination and predominantly heroic attributes, has overshadowed and obscured the less spectacular yet more fecund instrumentalities in the colonization and civilization of the West. To-day, in the clarifying light of contemporary research, illuminating social and economic forces, the creative and formative causes of colonization and expansion, the individual merges into the group; and the isolated effort assumes its true character as merely a single factor in social evolution. We have come to recognize that the man of genius obeys a movement quite as much as he controls it, and even more than he creates it. In the pitiless perspective of historic evolution, the spectacular hero at first sight seems to lessen; but the mass, the movement, the social force which he epitomizes and interprets, gain in impressiveness and dignity.²

The hero of the pioneer West, Daniel Boone, has played the lofty rôle of exemplar of the leadership of the *hinterland* movement of the eighteenth century. At the hands of that inaccurate and turgid amanuensis, John Filson, Boone has been apotheosized, in approved Scriptural fashion, as the instrument of Providence, ordained by God to settle the wilderness. Nor is this superstitious delusion confined to Filson. "An over-ruling Providence", says Boone, in speaking of himself, "seems to have watched over his life, and preserved

¹ A paper read at the meeting of the American Historical Association at Charleston, December 30, 1913.

² Cf. Henderson, "The Beginnings of American Expansion", *North Carolina Review*, September and October, 1910.

him to be the humble instrument in settling one of the fairest portions of the new world."³ Fancy has played erratically about this sane and simple figure, envisaging him in countless disguises, from the primitive man returning to nature (after Rousseau) to the genius of modern communism (after Spencer). At the hands of the earlier biographers, Boone has taken on the hue and tone of an unsocial and primitive figure, as unreal as an Indian from the pages of Chateaubriand, perpetually fleeing from civilization in response to the lure of the forest and the irresistible call of the wild. At the hands of later biographers, Boone is fantastically endowed with the creative imagination of the colonizer and the civic genius of a founder of states. In the face of such disparities of romantic distortion, wrought upon the character and rôle of Boone, the true significance of the westward expansionist movement suffers obscuration and eclipse. Scientifically historic investigation must relegate to the superstitious and the gullible, to the panegyrist and the hero-worshipper, the providential interpretation of our national history.

Meantime, there remains to narrate the just and authentic story of westward expansion, and to project the true picture of Boone as the typical figure of the expert backwoodsman in the westward migration of the peoples. Only thus shall we secure the correct perspective for the social, political, and economic history of the colonization of the West. Such a recital must unmask the forces behind Boone, the chain of social causation, the truly creative forces in the expansionist movement. In such a recital, Boone is shorn of none of those remarkable powers as explorer, scout, pathfinder, land-looker, and individual Indian fighter which have given him a secure niche in the hall of national fame. It involves the recognition, nevertheless, that his genius was essentially individual rather than social, unique rather than communistic. In the larger social sense, it involves the further recognition that those of Boone's achievements which had the widest bearing on the future and ultimately effected national results were accomplished through his instrumentality, not in the rôle of originative genius and constructive colonizer, but in the rôle of pioneer and way-breaker. Boone's pioneering initiative and his familiarity with Indian temperament found the best field for their most effective display under the guidance of the constructive mind and colonizing genius of Henderson. Boone acted as the agent of men of commercial enterprise and far-seeing political imagination, intent upon an epochal politico-economic project of colonization, promotion, and expansion. Boone may have been the instrument of

³ Memorial to the Legislature of Kentucky", January 18, 1812.

Providence, as he so piously imagined; but it is indubitable that he was the agent of commercial enterprise and colonial promotion.

I.

The exploration and colonization of the West, with the ultimate consequence of the acquisition of the trans-Alleghany region, was not the divinely appointed work of any single man. In reality, this consummation flowered out of two fundamental impulses in the life of the period, the creative causes of territorial expansion. Intensive analysis reveals the further cardinal fact that it was two racial streams, the one distinguished by unit-characters, individualistic, democratic, the other corporate in interests, communistic, with aristocratic attributes—their temporary co-ordination and subsequent sharp mutual reaction—which constituted the instrumentalities for the initial steps in the westward expansionist movement. The creative forces which inaugurated the territorial expansion of the American people westward found typical embodiment, the one in a great land company intent upon carving out a new colony, the other in the supreme pioneer and land-looker of his day.

The prime determinative principle of the progressive American civilization of the eighteenth century was the passion for the acquisition of land. After the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748), which left the boundaries of France and England in America unsettled, Céloron de Bienville was despatched in the spring of 1749 to sow broadcast the seeds of empire, the leaden plates symbolic of the asserted sovereignty of France. Through a grant to the Ohio Company, organized in 1748 and composed of a number of the most prominent men of the day in Virginia, England proceeded to take possession without the formal assertion of her claims; and Christopher Gist, summoned from his remote home on the Yadkin in North Carolina, made a thorough reconnaissance of the western region in 1750–1751. Almost simultaneously, the Loyal Land Company of Virginia received a royal grant of eight hundred thousand acres, and in the spring of 1750 despatched Thomas Walker westward upon his now well-known tour of exploration.⁴ The vast extent of uninhabited transmontane lands, of fabled beauty, richness, and fertility, excited dreams of grandiose possibilities in the minds of English and colonials alike. England was said to be “New Land mad and everybody there has his eye fixed on this Country”.⁵ To Franklin and Washington, to the Lees and Patrick Henry, to Lyman and Clark, the West

⁴ J. S. Johnston, *First Explorations of Kentucky* (Filson Club Publications).

⁵ Johnson MSS., XII., no. 127.

loomed large as the promised land—for settlement, for trade, for occupation—to men brave enough to risk their all in its acquisition. The royal proclamation of 1763 gave a new impetus to the colonizing spirit, dormant during the early years of the war, and marks the true beginning of Western colonization. The feeling of the period was succinctly interpreted by Washington, who, in describing the “rising empire” beyond the Alleghanies, denominates it “a tract of country which is unfolding to our view, the advantages of which are too great and too obvious, I should think, to become the subject of serious debate, but which, through ill-timed parsimony and supineness, may be wrested from us and conducted through other channels”.⁶

The second determinative impulse of the pioneer civilization was *wanderlust*—the passionately inquisitive instinct of the hunter, the traveller, the explorer. A secondary object of the proclamation of 1763, according to Edmund Burke, was the limitation of the colonies on the West, as “the charters of many of our old colonies give them, with few exceptions, no bounds to the westward but the South Sea”.⁷ The Long Hunters taking their lives in their hands fared boldly forth to a fabled hunters’ paradise in the far-away wilderness, because they were driven by the irresistible desire of a Ponce de Leon or a De Soto, a Stanley or a Peary, to discover the truth about the undiscovered lands beyond the mountains. The hunter was not only thrilled with the passion of the chase in a veritable paradise of game: he was intent upon collecting the furs and skins of wild animals for lucrative barter and sale in the centres of trade. Quick to make “tomahawk claims” and to assert “corn rights”, the pioneer spied out the rich virgin lands for future location, there to be free from the vexatious insistence of the tax-gatherer. “The people at the back part of those [North Carolina and Virginia] and the neighboring Colonies”, writes Dunmore to Hillsborough as late as 1772, “finding that grants are not to be obtained, do seat themselves without any formalities wherever they like best.”⁸ To exploit the land for his individual advantage, eventually to convert the wilderness to the inevitable uses and purposes of civilization: such was the mission of the pioneer. Acting-Governor Nelson of Virginia, referring in 1770 to the frontier settlements, significantly remarks: “Very little if any Quit Rents have been received for his majesty’s use from that Quarter for some time past; for they [the settlers] say, that as His

⁶ Cf. Hulbert, *Washington and the West*.

⁷ *Annual Register*, 1763, p. 20.

⁸ “State Paper Office, America, vol. 192, no. 7”, is the reference attached to the transcript in the Virginia State Library, Aspinwall Collection, pp. 77–81. Presumably the modern reference to the original is, Public Record Office, C. O. 5: 989.

Majesty hath been pleased to withdraw his protection from them since 1763, they think themselves bound not to pay Quit Rents.”⁹ The axe and the surveyor’s chain, along with the rifle and the hunting-knife, constituted the armorial bearings of the pioneer. Again, with individual as with corporation, with explorer as with landlord, land-hunger was the master-impulse of the era.

In a little hamlet in North Carolina in the middle years of the eighteenth century, these two determinative principles, the acquisitive and the inquisitive instincts, found a conjunction which may justly be termed prophetic. Here occurred the meeting of two streams of racial tendency. The exploratory passion of the pioneer, given directive force in the interest of commercial enterprise, prepared the way for the westward migration of the peoples. That irresistible Southern migration, which preceded and presaged the greater wandering of the peoples across the Alleghanies a quarter of a century later, brought a horde of pioneer settlers from the more thickly populated sections of Pennsylvania, and a group of gentlemen planters from the Old Dominion of Virginia, to the frontier colony of North Carolina—famed afar for her fertile farm lands, alluvial river bottoms, and rich hunting grounds. The migratory horde from Pennsylvania found ultimate lodgment for certain of its number in the frontier county of Rowan; the stream of gentlemen planters from Virginia came to rest in the more settled regions of Orange and Granville. From these two racial and social elements stem the fecund creative forces in westward expansion.¹⁰

II.

In the first half of the eighteenth century, Pennsylvania felt the impetus of civilization from the throngs of immigrants who flocked into the Neshaminy Valley, the Cumberland Valley, eastward to the Delaware, up the river to the Lehigh, and into the twilight zone

⁹ Nelson to Hillsborough, October 18, 1770. Bancroft Transcripts, Library of Congress.

¹⁰ In the history of this epochal movement there is one of the most singular of *lacunae*—a gap almost unprecedented in a period of American life so industriously studied. Close scrutiny of the Draper collection, generally presumed to be the court of last resort for the career of Boone, as well as of Draper’s correspondence, reveals the significant fact that the voluminous records of Rowan, where Boone lived for a quarter of a century prior to his removal to Kentucky, eluded the watchful eye, if not the curiosity, of the indefatigable Draper. An intensive study of these county records, the Draper MSS., the Henderson, Burton, Hogg, Hart, and Benton papers, taken in conjunction with a wider research into the careers of Daniel Boone and Richard Henderson, made by the writer, effects a new distribution of perspective and affords a rational *exposé* of the early expansionist movement.

of uncertain title towards Maryland. "These bold and indigent strangers", says Logan, Penn's agent, in 1724, "gave as their excuse when challenged for titles that we had solicited for colonists and they had come accordingly."¹¹ Aside from these bold squatters, who asserted that "it was against the laws of God and nature that so much land should be idle while so many christians wanted it to work on and to raise their bread", came innumerable *bona fide* purchasers of land, fleeing from the traditional bonds of caste and aristocracy in England and Europe, from religious persecution and favoritism, to a haven of refuge, where they received guarantees of full tolerance in religious faith and the benefits of representative self-government. From East Devonshire in England came George, the grandfather of Daniel Boone, and from Wales came Edward Morgan, whose daughter Sarah married Squire, Daniel Boone's father—conspicuous representatives of the Society of Friends, drawn thither by the representations of the great Quaker, William Penn, with his advanced views on popular government and religious toleration.¹² Hither too came Morgan Bryan from Ireland, where he had gone from Denmark, settling in Chester County prior to 1719; and his children, William, James, and Morgan, the brothers-in-law of Daniel Boone, were intimately concerned in the subsequent westward migration.¹³ In 1720 the vanguard of that great army of Ulster Scots, with their stern, rugged qualities of aggressive self-reliance, appeared in Pennsylvania. In September, 1734, Michael Finley from County Armagh, Ireland, presumably accompanied by his brother Archibald, landed in Philadelphia; and this Archibald Finley, a settler in Bucks County, according to the best authorities was the father of John Finley or Findley or Findlay, Boone's guide and companion in his famous exploration of Kentucky in 1769-1771.¹⁴ Hither too came Mordecai Lincoln, great-grandson of Samuel Lincoln, who had emigrated from England to Hingham, Massachusetts, as early as 1637;

¹¹ Hanna, *Scotch-Irish*, II. 60, 63.

¹² George Boone, with his wife, emigrated to Pennsylvania in 1717; and his son George, on his arrival, produced a certificate from Bradnich meeting in Devonshire. Edward Morgan was a member of Gwynedd monthly meeting. Cf. Original Minutes of Abington and Gwynedd Monthly Meetings, Pa.

¹³ Cf. *Bryan's Station* (Filson Club Publications, no. 12); also W. S. Ely, *The American Ararat* (Publications of the Bucks County, Pa., Historical Society); MS. History of the Bryan Family, owned by Col. W. L. Bryan, Boone, N. C.

¹⁴ Ely, *The Finleys of Bucks* (Publications of the Bucks County, Pa., Historical Society); also Ely, "Historic Associations of Neshaminy Valley", *Daily Intelligencer* (Reading, Pa.), July 29, 1913. While Archibald, the father, spelled the surname Finley, it appears from an autograph in the possession of the Wisconsin State Historical Society, Draper MSS., 2 B 161, that the explorer spelled it Findlay.

and this Mordecai, who in 1720 settled in Chester County, Pennsylvania, was the father of Sarah Lincoln, who married William Boone, and of Abraham Lincoln, who married Anne Boone, William's first cousin.¹⁵ Early settlers in Pennsylvania were members of the Hanks family, one of the descendants being Abraham Hanks, grandfather of the Abraham Hanks of Prince William County, Virginia, who accompanied William Calk on his journey with Richard Henderson over Boone's trail in 1775.¹⁶

The rising scale of prices for Pennsylvania lands, changing from ten pounds per hundred acres and two shillings quit-rents in 1719 to fifteen and a half pounds per hundred acres with a quit-rent of a half-penny per acre in 1732, soon turned the eyes of the settlers southward in the direction of new and cheaper lands, the prices for which decreased in inverse ratio to their distance from Pennsylvania. In Maryland, in 1738, lands were offered at five pounds sterling per hundred acres. Simultaneously, in the valley of Virginia, free grants of a thousand acres per family were being made; and in the Piedmont region of North Carolina, the proprietary of Lord Granville through his agents was disposing of the most desirable lands to settlers at the rate of three shillings proclamation money for six hundred and forty acres, the unit of land division, and was also making large free grants on the condition of seating a certain proportion of settlers. The rich lure of these cheap and even free lands set up a vast migration southward from Pennsylvania in the second quarter of the eighteenth century. In 1734 the Bryans migrated to Virginia, obtaining a grant near Winchester, whence they removed to the Forks of the Yadkin in North Carolina about 1750.¹⁷ In 1750 the Boones, soon followed by the Hanks and Lincoln families, migrated southward to Virginia; and shortly afterwards, Squire Boone, sr., with his family settled at the Forks of the Yadkin in Rowan County. From 1740 there was a ceaseless tide of immigration into the valley of the Yadkin, of the Scotch-Irish and Quakers from Pennsylvania. In a letter to the Secretary of the Board of Trade from Edenton, North Carolina (Feb. 15, 1750/1),

¹⁵ Mordecai Lincoln was the great-great-grandfather of President Lincoln. There was another connection between the Boone and Lincoln families: Mary Lincoln, daughter of Abraham Lincoln (1736-1806) and Anne Boone Lincoln, married a Joseph Boone. For data concerning the Boone and Lincoln families, I am indebted to Mr. Andrew Shaaber, the librarian of the Historical Society of Berks County, Pa. Cf., also, *The Early Life of Abraham Lincoln*, by Tarbell and Davis.

¹⁶ The original manuscript diary of William Calk is now in the possession of one of his descendants, who permitted me to examine it. William Calk's companion, Abraham Hanks, was the maternal grandfather of President Lincoln.

¹⁷ Kercheval, *History of the Valley of Virginia*.

Governor Gabriel Johnston says, "Inhabitants flock in here daily, mostly from Pensilvania and other parts of America, who are overstocked with people and some directly from Europe, they commonly seat themselves towards the West and have got near the mountains." Writing from the same town on September 12, 1752, Bishop Spangenburg of the Moravian Church says that a considerable number of the inhabitants of North Carolina have settled here "as they wished to own land and were too poor to buy in Pennsylvania or New Jersey"; and in 1753 he observes that "even in this year more than 400 families with horse wagons and cattle have migrated to this State. . . ."¹⁸ The immensity of this mobile, drifting mass is demonstrated by the statement of Governor William Tryon that in the summer and winter of 1765 "upwards of one thousand wagons passed thro' Salisbury with families from the northward, to settle in this province chiefly".

This southward-moving wave of migration, predominantly Scotch-Irish and English, with an admixture of a Welsh element, starting from Pennsylvania in the first quarter of the eighteenth century, swept through Maryland, and in the middle years of the century inundated the valley of Virginia and the Piedmont region of North Carolina. About Salisbury, the county seat of Rowan, now rapidly formed a settlement of people marked by strong individuality, sturdy independence, and virile self-reliance. The immigrants, following the course of the Great Trading Path, did not stop at Salisbury but radiated thence in all directions. The Morgans, Quakers and Baptists, remained in Pennsylvania, spreading over Philadelphia and Bucks counties; the Hanks and Lincoln stocks found refuge in Virginia; but the Boones and the Bryans founded their settlement at the Forks of the Yadkin. A few miles distant was the tiny hamlet of Salisbury, consisting of seven or eight log houses and the courthouse (1755).¹⁹ The Boones and the Bryans, quickly accommodating themselves to frontier conditions much ruder and more primitive than those of their Pennsylvania home, immediately began to take an active part in the local affairs of the county.²⁰ The Boones quickly transferred their allegiance from the Society of Friends to the Baptist Church, worshipping at the Boone's Ford Church on the Davie side of the Yadkin; the Bryans, on the other hand, moved perhaps by the eloquence of the gentle Asbury, who often visited them, adopted Methodist principles.²¹ In this region infested with

¹⁸ For these several statements, cf. *N. C. Col. Rec.*, IV. 1073, 1312; VII. 249.

¹⁹ *N. C. Col. Rec.*, V. 355 *et seq.*

²⁰ Squire Boone, shortly after his arrival in the neighborhood, was chosen justice of the peace; and Morgan Bryan was soon appearing as foreman of juries and director in road improvements in the county.

²¹ Says the Rev. Francis Asbury in his *Journal*, in speaking of his frontier congregations: "In every place the congregations were large, and received the

Cherokee and Catawba Indians, Captain Anthony Hampton with his company of rangers actively patrolled the frontier; and Daniel Boone won his spurs as a soldier under the sagacious Indian fighter, commander of Fort Dobbs, Hugh Waddell.²² Through the wilderness to the westward, across the mountains, and into the valley of the Holston, the nomadic Boone roamed at will, spying out the land, and hunting and trapping to his heart's content. In such an environment was bred the Pennsylvanian, Daniel Boone, of Quaker stock, with Baptist proclivities. Humble in origin but strongly marked in his individual democracy, Boone learned the stern frontier lessons of frugality, self-repression, and self-reliance. Here he tasted the sweets of freedom and developed the roving instinct which later marked him out as the supreme pioneer of his time. Chafing under the hampering restrictions of community life and realizing himself to be unsuited to the monotonous routine of farming, he was irresistibly impelled by his own nomadic temperament to seek the wider liberty of the wilderness. It is measurably more than surmise to say that he sought wider fields in the vague hope of enjoying there a larger degree of individual freedom under the impulse of pioneer democracy. Virginia and Pennsylvania contributed liberally to the formation of the national character in the cradle of the West. At this precise moment in history was to emerge, out of North Carolina, after a sojourn of a quarter of a century, the incarnation of the individual democracy which afterwards was to exert such a profound effect upon the development of American civilization, and to produce in time an Andrew Jackson and an Abraham Lincoln.²³

III.

Simultaneous with the streaming of the peasant Quakers and Scotch-Irish Presbyterians into the Piedmont region of North Caro-

word with all readiness of mind. I know not that I have spent such a week since I came to America. I saw everywhere such a simplicity in the people, with such a vehement thirst after the word of God, that I frequently preached and continued in prayer till I was hardly able to stand" (I. 174). Cf. also Sheets, *History of Liberty Baptist Association*, and J. T. Alderman, *The Baptists at the Forks of the Yadkin* (Baptist Historical Papers).

²² Archibald D. Murphey, "Indian Nations of North Carolina", MSS. Collections, N. C. Historical Commission. Cf. also Alfred Moore Waddell, *A Colonial Officer and his Times*; and Draper's manuscript Life of Boone.

²³ Cf. Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History", *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 1893. In this same frontier environment which shaped the Boones and the Bryans, was born a few years later Andrew Jackson; and Mr. William Jennings Bryan is descended from a brother of the Bryan whose daughter was married to Daniel Boone.

lina,²⁴ having as consequence the gradual evolution of the embryonic forms of pioneer American democracy, was proceeding another movement into the counties of Orange and Granville, of families of quality and superior position, destined to exert in equally distinctive ways an ineffaceable impress upon the development of the West. In the middle years of the eighteenth century, attracted by the lure of rich and cheap lands, many families of Virginia gentry, principally from Hanover County, settled in the region ranging from Williamsborough on the east to Hillsborough on the west. Hither came the Hendersons, the Bullocks, the Williamses, the Harts, the Lewises, the Taylors, the Bentons, the Penns, the Burtons, the Hares, and the Sneeds.²⁵ There soon arose in this section of the colony a society marked by intellectual distinction, social graces, and the leisured dignity of the landlord and the large planter. Here was forming a new society, constituting the social link between the wealthy and predominant aristocracy in the East and the rude frontier democracy in the West. A similar type of society, that of Piedmont Virginia, produced such champions of the new democracy as Jefferson and Patrick Henry—a society composite of independent yeoman and their leaders, the large planters. It was sharply differentiated from the colonial society of the coast, being inherently democratic in instinct and aristocratic in tone. "Never scarcely in England have I seen more beautiful prospects", writes James Iredell in testimony of the beauty of the lands of Granville,²⁶ and its richness and productivity as agricultural and grazing land were demonstrated by the yield of great crops of Indian corn and other grain, and the vast droves of cattle and hogs. So conspicuous for means, intellect, culture, and refinement were the people of this social group—a people with "abundance of wealth and leisure for enjoyment", says the quaint old diarist, Hugh McAden²⁷—that Governor Josiah Martin, passing through Granville and Bute counties on his way from Hillsborough in 1772, significantly remarks: "They have great pre-eminence, as well with respect to soil and cultivation, as

²⁴ S. B. Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery*; also *William and Mary College Quarterly*, XII. 129-134; Henderson, *Life and Times of Richard Henderson*; *Biographical Hist. of N. C.*

²⁵ W. H. Battle, "Memoir of Chief Justice Leonard Henderson", *N. C. Univ. Mag.*, November, 1859; T. B. Kingsbury, "Chief Justice Leonard Henderson", *Wake Forest Student*, November, 1898; R. W. Winston, "Leonard Henderson", Frank Nash, "Hillsborough, Colonial and Revolutionary", Nash, "History of Orange County", *N. C. Booklet*. The author has also had the privilege of examining the valuable collection of Hart-Benton MSS., kindly placed at his disposal by Miss Lucretia Hart Clay, of Lexington, Ky.

²⁶ McRee, *Life and Correspondence of James Iredell*, I. 434.

²⁷ Foote, *Sketches of N. C.*

to the manners and condition of the inhabitants, in which last respect the difference is so great that one would be led to think them people of another region.”²⁸ From this society came such eminent democratic figures as the father-in-law and preceptor of Henry Clay, Thomas Hart; his grandson, the “Old Bullion” and “Great Pacifier” of a later era, Thomas Hart Benton; Richard Henderson, president of the colony of Transylvania, known to his contemporaries as the “Patrick Henry of North Carolina”; John Penn, signer of the Declaration of Independence; William Kennon, eloquent advocate of the Mecklenburg Resolves of May 31, 1775; and others almost equally distinguished. Like the society of the Virginia Piedmont, it was, to employ the words of Turner, “a society naturally expansive, seeing its opportunity to deal in unoccupied lands along the frontier which continually moved toward the West, and in this era of the eighteenth century dominated by the democratic ideals of pioneers rather than by the aristocratic tendencies of slave-holding planters”.²⁹ From the cross-fertilization of this society of gentry, of innate qualities of leadership, democratic instincts, economic cast, and expansive tendencies, with the primitive, pioneer society of the frontier, frugal in taste, responsive to leadership, ready and thorough in execution, there was evolved the militant expansive movement in American life. Out of the ancient breeding-ground of North Carolina, from the co-operative union of transplanted Pennsylvania and Virginia stocks, came at the same moment the spirit of governmental control with popular liberty, and the spirit of individual colonization, restive under control. In the initial co-ordination of these two instincts, with the subsequent triumph of the latter over the former, is told the story of the beginning of American expansion.³⁰

Soon after his arrival in Rowan, Squire Boone, sr., residing at the Forks of the Yadkin some twelve miles from Salisbury, was chosen as one of the worshipful justices of the county court. From the earliest sessions of the court, three years before the erection of a court-house, he acted in this capacity, deciding the many simple questions arising under frontier conditions: registering the branding marks for cattle; selecting constables and road-overseers, and their routes; determining the scale of prices of foods and liquors for the licensed hostleries; and the like. By the end of 1756 he was presiding in the new court-house—a frame-work structure, thirty feet

²⁸ *N. C. Col. Rec.*, IX. 349. Martin comments: “These advantages arise I conceive from the vicinity of Virginia, from whence I understand many, invited by the superior excellence of the soil have immigrated to settle in these counties.”

²⁹ Turner, “The Old West”, *Wis. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1903.

³⁰ See Henderson, “The Pioneer Contributions of North Carolina to Kentucky”, *Charlotte Observer*, November 10, 1913.

long and twenty feet wide, provided with an oval bar and "cases" for the attorneys. One of the attorneys who occupied one of these "cases" and argued suits before Squire Boone was a young man of Granville County, whose geniality had won him many friends and whose ability had won him a large legal practice.³¹ "Even in the superior courts where oratory and eloquence are as brilliant and powerful as in Westminster-hall", says an English acquaintance of Henderson's, "he soon became distinguished and eminent, and his superior genius shone forth with great splendour, and universal applause." Wedded to the daughter of an Irish lord,³² and moving in the refined circle which included a Richard Bennehan, an Alexander Martin, a John Penn, a William Hooper, and their compeers, he was nevertheless conspicuously democratic by conviction and in practice. His law-partner, who married the widow of Lord Keeling, was John Williams—a stout exponent of the principles of democracy. Among his intimate friends was that "aristocrat in temperament, but democrat in politics", Thomas Hart, whom an acquaintance, Dr. J. F. D. Smyth, described as "an accomplished and complete gentleman". Henderson was well acquainted with Squire Boone, frequently appearing on legal business before him; and likewise formed the acquaintance of his son, Daniel, the nomadic spirit, hunter, and trapper, who occasionally told him bizarre and startling tales of his wanderings across the dark green mountains to the fair valleys and boundless hunting grounds beyond. These stories of Western explorations Henderson heard from the lips of Daniel Boone himself, who was eager to remove to the West at the first convenient opportunity.³³

Daniel Boone was an explorer of remarkable individual initiative. Prior to 1769 he had already travelled as far as Florida on the south and as far as Kentucky on the west. During the period from 1763 to 1769, doubtless through his long extended absences and his enforced neglect of affairs at home, he became deeply involved financially. His nomadic instincts, with the consequent neglect of the work on his farm, seem to have prejudiced even his father against him. The heavy indebtedness which he incurred—indeed the entire career of the simple-hearted pioneer demonstrates his constitutional carelessness in business and financial transactions—involved him in suits instituted against him by some of the most prominent citizens of Salisbury—John Lewis Beard, the philanthro-

³¹ The earliest court records of Granville County show that he and his first cousin, John Williams, enjoyed the most extensive practice in the court.

³² Kingsbury, "Chief Justice Leonard Henderson", *loc. cit.*

³³ Draper's MS. Life of Boone.

pist and devout churchman; Dr. Anthony Newnan, the active Whig; Hugh Montgomery, the wealthy landlord of Wilkes; John Mitchell; and others.³⁴ In this hour of his poverty and distress, Boone turned to his friends, the law-partners, Henderson and Williams. "A person so just and upright" as Boone could have become involved in such financial difficulties only through a certain naïve indifference to the forms of law and heedless neglect of customary business precaution. In reference to this gloomy period in Boone's career, Thomas Hart wrote his brother Nathaniel in 1780: "I have known Boone in times of old, when poverty and distress had him fast by the hand; and in these wretched circumstances, I have ever found him of a noble and generous soul, despising everything mean."³⁵

In the earlier years of Boone's residence in Rowan, at some time prior to 1763, Richard Henderson first formed the acquaintance of Boone. The fact of cardinal importance is that he knew Boone in a two-fold capacity—not only as hunter, trapper, and explorer, but also as surveyor and road-maker. Not without distinct historic significance was it that in the year 1763, and so, at the same time with England's futile proclaimed estoppel of purchase of lands from the Indians by individuals or corporations without crown grants,³⁶ Richard Henderson one day rose from his "case" in the tiny courthouse of Rowan, and facing the "oval bar" which supported the elevated bench from which Squire Boone, as one of the "worshipful justices", had for a decade dispensed rude justice, moved the following:

It is ordered that a Waggon Road, the best and nearest, be built from the Shallow Ford upon the Yadkin River to the Town of Salisbury, and the following persons are appointed to lay off and mark the same, to wit, Daniel Boone, Morgan Bryan, Samuel Bryan, and James Bryan . . . and accordingly they appear upon Notice and be qualified before the nearest Magistrate for their Faithful discharge of their office etc.

³⁴ Court records.

³⁵ Morehead's *Address*, at Boonesborough (1840), p. 105, note.

³⁶ The royal proclamation of October 7, 1763, avowed it to be his Majesty's "fixed determination to permit no grants of lands nor any settlements to be made within certain fixed Bounds . . . leaving all that territory within it free for the hunting grounds of those Indian subjects of your majesty". Text in *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, XXXVI. 14-19 (1908). In his elaborate papers on the subject of British Western policy, Professor C. W. Alvord, however, successfully maintains that the royal proclamation of 1763 did not set permanent western limits to the colonies, and that it was the intention of the Board of Trade to promote westward expansion by the peaceful purchase from time to time, under royal authority, of land situated in the Indian reservation. Cf. "The Genesis of the Proclamation of 1763", *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, vol. XXXVI.; "The British Ministry and the Treaty of Fort Stanwix", Wisconsin Historical Society *Proceedings*, 1908.

When the time was ripe for the defiance of the edict of crown governors against purchases from the Indians without royal grants, upon the basis of the royal proclamation of 1763, it was but natural that Henderson should engage as the man best fitted to spy out the wilderness of Kentucky and later to cut out a passage thereto through the dense and tangled laurel thickets—a passage far-famed in history as the Wilderness Road—his friend “Dan Boone”, as he familiarly called him, whom he had known for many years as a most competent scout and expert road-cutter in the frontier county of Rowan.

V.

The designs which Henderson and his associates cherished for the acquisition of Western lands found early expression in some form of organization. After the proclamation of 1763, which assured the lands at least temporarily to the Indians, these men realized that these lands must eventually be thrown open to colonization.³⁷ They accordingly organized themselves into some sort of company, for the purpose of engaging an expert scout and surveyor to spy out the Western lands, and later to examine into the feasibility of making a purchase ultimately from the Indians. Their original intention, indubitably, was to colonize the territory thus to be acquired. But when the clouds of war finally gathered and a clash with Great Britain loomed threatening and imminent on the horizon, their original plan of extensive colonization inevitably assumed momentous political consequences; and in the event they endeavored to found a fourteenth American colony in the heart of the Western wilderness.

This company, so far as known, has left no documentary record of its activities in the earlier stages of its existence. All the evidence points to the fact that it consisted of three partners only: Richard Henderson, Thomas Hart, and John Williams. The organization first bore the name of “Richard Henderson and Company”. Some years later, after the plans for colonization had passed the stage of preliminary investigation, new partners were successively added. The name of the organization, “Richard Henderson and

³⁷ The chief object of the proclamation of 1763 was to allay the alarm of the Indians; and in pursuance of this idea the colonists were positively prohibited from making settlements on the Indian lands. Nevertheless the roving bands of determined settlers along the Indian border rendered the situation critical. In the very preamble of the proclamation, the Lords of Trade describe the sovereign as “being desirous that all Our loving subjects, as well of Our Kingdom as of Our Colonies in America, may avail themselves with all convenient Speed, of the great Benefits and Advantages which must accrue therefrom etc.” The veiled intent of the Board of Trade, it would appear, was to control, not to prevent, expansion westward.

Company", was altered, first to the "Louisa Company", and then to the "Transylvania Company".³⁸

The first exploration which Daniel Boone ever made on behalf of Richard Henderson and Company was in the year following the royal proclamation of 1763. The partners evidently anticipated Washington in the realization that the proclamation was only a temporary expedient to quiet the minds of the Indians. Boone was vastly impressed by the Western territory as a field for settlement; and was eager on his own account to move his family to this new region. It is clear that he anticipated removal to the West with his family, as the immediate result of his first exploration in the interest of Henderson and Company.³⁹ Boone's enthusiastic descriptions of the Western wilderness retailed to Henderson and his associates, Hart and Williams, doubtless aroused in their minds the first suggestion of the larger opportunities for settlement and investment afforded by the rich but tenantless West. Accordingly they engaged Boone, who upon all his pioneering and hunting expeditions continued to penetrate further and further westward, to do double duty upon his next expedition. Boone was instructed, while hunting and trapping on his own account, to make a wider cast than he had ever made before, to examine the lands with respect to their location and fertility, and to report his findings upon his return.

The expedition must have been transacted with considerable circumspection. In 1767 George Washington, writing to his agent, Crawford, with reference to threatened future competition for the best Western lands, shrewdly counsels: "All this may be avoided by a silent management, and the operation carried on by you under the guise of hunting game."⁴⁰ With a business sagacity like that of Washington, who was later to learn of Henderson's desire to found an independent colony in the West, Henderson fully realized that the exploration must be conducted with circumspection, if the lands were to be secured.⁴¹ Boone proved himself a thor-

³⁸ Kentucky MSS., I.; Draper MSS. Cf. Alden, *New Governments west of the Alleghanies before 1780* (Madison, Wis.).

³⁹ The county records show that in the early part of this same year, viz. on February 21, 1764, Daniel Boone and his wife "Rebeckah" sold all their property in North Carolina—consisting of a home and 640 acres of land.

⁴⁰ Washington to Crawford, September 21, 1767, Sparks, *Life and Writings of Washington*, II. 346-350. In the same letter, Washington admonishes Crawford to "keep the whole matter a secret, or trust it only to those in whom you may confide, and who can assist you in bringing it to bear by their discoveries of land".

⁴¹ The meagreness of our information on the subject of this initial exploration may thus be naturally explained. An acquaintance of Henderson mentions that the latter preserved the strictest secrecy about his earlier land ventures. Repeatedly taxed afterwards with having acted as the agent of the land company, Boone consistently and most honorably refused to violate Henderson's confidence.

oughly satisfactory agent for the examination of the country, his trustworthiness being in no small measure due to his ingrained taciturnity and his faculty of keeping his own counsel. It is obvious, however, that Henderson gave to Boone, as Washington gave to Crawford, discretion to trust the secret of his errand to those in whom he could confide and who might assist him in making further discoveries of land. In one instance, at least, the circumspect Boone deemed it prudent to communicate the purpose of his mission to some hunters in order to secure the results of their information in regard to the best lands they had encountered in the course of their hunting expedition. In the autumn of 1764, during the journey of the Blevins party of hunters, to their hunting ground on the Rock Castle River, near the Crab Orchard in Kentucky, Daniel Boone came among the hunters, at one of their Tennessee station camps, in order, as expressed in the quaint phraseology of the day, "to be informed of the geography and locography of these woods, saying that he was employed to explore them by Henderson and Company".⁴² In this tour of exploration, Boone hunted and scouted through the valleys of the Tennessee and the Holston, but did not penetrate to the fabled region of Kentucky. His companion on this expedition was his relative, Samuel Callaway, and together they accomplished a two-fold object: hunting and trapping on their own account, and secretly prospecting and exploring on behalf of the land company.⁴³

VI.

Just why Henderson and his associates did not act immediately upon the report brought back by Boone and Callaway—a report doubtless highly favorable, as was the case with all the "news of a far country" brought home by the pioneers—there is no extant ex-

⁴² Haywood, *Tennessee*, p. 35. The accuracy of Haywood's testimony in this instance must be recognized as indisputable. Judge John Haywood was intimately associated, both personally and legally, with Richard Henderson's two sons, Archibald and Leonard; and his successor to the post of reading clerk to the North Carolina House of Commons, in 1789, was his friend, Major Pleasant Henderson, Richard's brother and pioneer with Boone at Boonesborough, and with Robertson at the French Lick. On his removal to Tennessee, Judge Haywood formed the personal acquaintance of many of the pioneers, from whom he received innumerable accounts of their personal experiences. Notable figures among the pioneers in Tennessee, such as James Robertson, John Sevier, and Timothée de Monbrun, were personally known to the Tennessee historians, Haywood and Putnam,

⁴³ Ramsey (*Annals of Tennessee*) unearthed the fact that Boone, while acting as the secret agent of the land company, was accompanied by Callaway—a fact which Ramsey, with his intimate knowledge of the pioneers and their history, probably derived directly from Callaway or his immediate descendants.

planatory evidence. Henderson and Williams, as law-partners, were engaged in an extensive and lucrative law practice; and in the prosecution of their profession spent a large proportion of their time in travelling from one end of the extensive colony of North Carolina to the other.⁴⁴ The heavy obligations of this extensive and rapidly enlarging law business in all probability sufficed to delay the immediate prosecution of the Western enterprise.

It was not, indeed, until several years later that Henderson and Company once more actively interested themselves in the problem of Western investment and colonization. In the *Virginia Gazette* of December 1, 1768, a newspaper in which he advertised, Henderson must have read with astonishment not unmixed with dismay, that "the Six Nations and all their tributaries have granted a vast extent of country to his majesty, and the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania, and settled an advantageous boundary line between their hunting country and this, and the other colonies to the Southward as far as the Cherokee river, for which they received the most valuable present in goods and dollars that was ever given at any conference since the settlement of America." It was now generally bruited about the colony of North Carolina that the Cherokees were deeply resentful because the Northern Indians at the treaty of Fort Stanwix had been handsomely remunerated for territory which they, the Cherokees, claimed from time immemorial.⁴⁵ Henderson, who had consulted often with Boone and reflected deeply over the subject, foresaw that the Western lands, though ostensibly thrown open for settlement under the aegis of Virginia, could only be legally obtained by extinguishing the Cherokee title. His prescience was directly confirmed by royal action, when Stuart, superintendent for Indian affairs in the Southern Department, at the treaty of Hard Labor, October 14, 1768, acknowledged the Cherokee title by establishing the western boundary as a line running from the top of Tryon Mountain (now in Polk County, North Carolina, on the South Carolina line) direct to Colonel Chiswell's mine (now Austinville, Virginia), and thence in a straight line to the mouth of the Great Kanawha River.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Cf. McRee, *Life and Correspondence of James Iredell*, I. 96-97; Henderson, *Life and Times of Richard Henderson*, ch. II.

⁴⁵ Cf. Ranck, *Boonesborough* (Filson Club Publications, no. 16); also Henderson, "Forerunners of the Republic: Richard Henderson and American Expansion", *Neale's Monthly*, January, 1913.

⁴⁶ *N. C. Col. Rec.*, VII. 851-855. "Should they [the Cherokees] refuse to give it up", writes Johnson to Gage (December 16, 1768), with reference to the action at the treaty of Fort Stanwix, "it is in his majesty's power to prevent the colonies from availing themselves of the late cession in that quarter, till it can be done with safety and the common consent of all who have just pretensions to it". Cf. Stone, *Life of Sir William Johnson*, II. 307; *Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1770-1772*, preface, p. xix.

It was at this crucial moment that the horse peddler, John Findlay, Boone's old friend of the Braddock campaign, wandered into the valley of the Yadkin. Findlay had actually been successful in reaching Kentucky in 1752; and now delighted Boone with his stories of the desirability of the country and the plentifulness of the game. The conjunction was a fortunate one in many respects. Boone was heavily in debt to his attorneys, the firm of Williams and Henderson, for legal services, and to other prominent citizens of Rowan County. Indeed he had been summoned to appear in Salisbury at the March term of court. John Findlay, John Stuart, and Daniel Boone all came to Salisbury to attend court, Judge Henderson arriving on March 5.⁴⁷ The attested presence at Salisbury of Boone, Findlay, and Stuart, three of the six explorers of Kentucky in 1769, simultaneous with Henderson, only a short time before the departure of Boone's party on their tour of exploration, makes it highly probable that the final conference to devise ways and means for the expedition was held at this time and place. Certain it is that on May 1, 1769, Daniel Boone as the confidential agent of Richard Henderson and Company, accompanied by five companions, left his "peaceable habitation" on the Yadkin for a two years' exploration of Kentucky.⁴⁸

Boone and Findlay visited Kentucky in 1769, not only to hunt and trap, but "for the purpose of examining the country".⁴⁹ Boone himself relates that he and Stuart, after getting settled in their camp, "proceeded to take a more thorough survey of the country";⁵⁰ and the entire course of Boone's actions during this period demonstrates that some powerful influence held him in Kentucky until his work of exploration was completed. Had Boone desired merely to discover a location for his own and neighboring families living at the Forks of the Yadkin, he might easily have discovered such a location in Madison and Garrard counties, which he first visited, or in the

⁴⁷ Court records. See also "Diary of Waightstill Avery", *N. C. Univ. Magazine*, 1856. Judge Henderson left Salisbury for Hillsborough on March 16.

⁴⁸ Aside from numerous authorities, from Peck, who studied Boone's career during Boone's own lifetime, down to the author of *The Winning of the West*, there is the testimony of those historical students who were fortified by the contemporary documents—Lossing, who examined the Transylvania papers lent him by President D. L. Swain of the University of North Carolina in 1856 (Swain's original letter to Lossing is now in the writer's possession); Hall, who examined the vast mass of evidence in the Hogg Papers, chiefly letters of the partners of the Transylvania Company; and Putnam, authentically informed through his intimate personal acquaintance with the early pioneers as well as through his unrivalled collection of pioneer documents. Thus, independently, from North Carolina, Kentucky, and Tennessee, the fact is related in identical form, from documentary evidence, as well as from personal record.

⁴⁹ Filson.

⁵⁰ "Memorial to the Legislature of Kentucky."

neighborhood of Station Camp Creek, in Estill County. Had he desired merely to hunt and fish and trap, he might well have found satiety in the proximity of his first camps. But there was a motive deeper than the desire to discover a location for a few families, or to range far and wide in search of game which was bounteous in plenty in his immediate vicinity. This motive was, assuredly, to employ Boone's own words, "to recruit his shattered circumstances"; and his financial obligations were to Williams and Henderson for legal services, and to other prominent citizens of Rowan County. The prosecution of the task of exhaustively exploring the Kentucky area was indubitably undertaken by Boone in the effort to meet these financial obligations.

Disheartened by his disasters, his two captures by the Indians and the loss of all his peltries, Boone would otherwise have welcomed the opportunity to return to North Carolina with his brother Squire, who came out with supplies.⁵¹ It is extremely likely, in the light of subsequent events, that Squire Boone bore a message from Henderson to Daniel Boone, urging upon him, now that he was in the country, to remain in it long enough to secure a more detailed knowledge of its geographical and topographical features. With Squire Boone, John Stuart, and Alexander Neely as companions, Daniel Boone at once began that elaborate series of explorations ranging from the Kentucky River on the north to the Green and Cumberland rivers on the south. By the first of May, 1770, the exploration of Kentucky had only just begun; so that Boone, fixed in the resolve to accomplish the undertaking upon which he had been despatched, preferred to remain alone in Kentucky while Squire returned home. From this time forward, Daniel Boone ranges far and wide through north-central Kentucky, visiting the Big Lick and the Blue Lick, exploring the valleys of the Kentucky and the Licking, and travelling as far down the Ohio as the Falls, the present Louisville. In July and again in September, following a second return to the settlement for supplies, Squire rejoined Daniel in Kentucky; and from December, 1770, until March, 1771, they scouted through the southern and western portions of Kentucky, exploring the valleys of the Green and Cumberland rivers, and hunting in company with the Long Hunters, among whom were Kasper Mansker, who discovered the lick that bears his name, and Henry Skaggs, who,

⁵¹ Cf. Boone's *Autobiography* (Filson). It is problematical but not unlikely that Squire Boone was sent out with these supplies for Daniel Boone and party by the land company. It is noteworthy that Squire Boone was accompanied on his journey by one of the Neely family, Alexander, for whom Henderson had hitherto acted as legal counsel.

because of his knowledge of the Cumberland area, as reported by Boone to Henderson, was subsequently engaged to act as the agent of the land company, fixing his station at Mansker's Lick.⁵²

On his return to North Carolina in 1771, Boone's glowing description of Kentucky "soon excited in others the spirit of an enterprise which in point of magnitude and peril, as well as constancy and heroism displayed in its execution, has never been paralleled in the history of America".⁵³ In 1772, the Watauga settlers secured from the Cherokee Indians, for a valuable consideration, a ten years' lease of the lands upon which they were settled. Boone, who had established friendly relations with James Robertson, communicated to Henderson the details of the leases and purchases which Robertson, Brown, and Sevier had made of the rich valley lands. After consulting with the Indians, Robertson informed Boone, acting as Henderson's confidential agent, that he believed, if the inducement were large enough, the Indians would sell. Following his own disastrous failure to effect individual colonization without attempting to secure by purchase the Indian title, in 1773, Boone in 1774 advised Henderson and his associates that the Cherokees were disposed to sell the Kentucky area.⁵⁴ Having previously assured himself of the legal validity of the purchase and after personally visiting the Cherokee chiefs in their principal village to secure their consent to the sale, Henderson proceeded to reorganize the land company, first into the Louisa and then into the Transylvania Company. With the aid of his associates he carried through the treaty of Sycamore Shoals, purchased for £10,000 sterling the Indian title to the greater portion of the Kentucky area, and commissioned Boone to cut out a passage to the heart of Kentucky. Boonesborough became the focus of the great struggles for predominance on the Western frontier.⁵⁵ There

⁵² An exhaustive study of Boone's itinerary has been made by the present writer, in order to fix the exact route which he followed. In addition to the wealth of local materials, the Draper MSS., including Draper's Life of Boone, are rich in information on the subject. Through the personal investigations of Mr. John P. Arthur, of Asheville, N. C., who went over Boone's route in North Carolina, as well as the researches of the present writer, this portion of the route has recently been marked by the Daughters of the American Revolution under the direction of Mrs. J. Lindsay Patterson, of Winston-Salem, N. C. Cf. *Home and Country*, April, 1914; *Sky-Land*, September, 1914.

⁵³ Morehead's *Address* at Boonesborough (1840).

⁵⁴ In a little newspaper, *The Harbinger*, published at Chapel Hill, N. C., in 1834, the venerable Pleasant Henderson, brother of Richard and fellow-pioneer with Boone at Boonesborough, writing from Tennessee, relates that in 1774 Richard Henderson was "induced to attempt a purchase of that country (the Kentucky area) from the Cherokee Indians through the suggestions and advice of the late Col. Daniel Boone".

⁵⁵ Cf. the writer's *Life and Times of Richard Henderson*; "The Beginnings of American Expansion"; and "Forerunners of the Republic: Richard Hender-

was the struggle of the white man against the red man, of the colonial against the Briton. There was the struggle of the Transylvania Company, first against royal authority, and then against the authority of Virginia. But deeper than all was the struggle between the spirit of individual colonization as embodied in the pioneers, and the spirit of commercial enterprise as embodied in the Transylvania Company. The conflict between the individualistic democracy of the pioneer and the commercial proprietorship of the Transylvania Company was settled only when George Rogers Clark, with iron hand, forced upon Virginia his own selection as virtual military dictator of the West. The drastic settlement of that conflict also made possible the most spectacular and meteoric campaign in Western history—closing only when Clark and his unterrified frontiersmen grounded their arms in Kaskaskia and Vincennes.⁵⁶

In his appeal to the Kentucky legislature, the octogenarian Boone says that he "may claim, without arrogance, to have been the author of the principal means which contributed to the settlement of a country on the Mississippi and its waters, which now (1812) produces the happiness of a million of his fellow-creatures; and of the exploring and acquisition of a country that will make happy many millions in time to come". The present research compels us to discount the high-flown language of the ancient petitioner for land. Boone was the pathfinder and way-breaker—wonderful independent explorer and equally skilled executant of the designs of others.⁵⁷ But to Henderson, Hart, Williams, and their associates, animated by the spirit of constructive civilization, rather than to Boone, with his unsocial and nomadic instincts, belongs the larger measure of credit for the inauguration of the militant expansionist movement of West-son and American Expansion", *loc. cit.* In a supplementary paper, the present writer purposes to detail, *in extenso*, the history of this expansionist movement from 1772 onward. All the accounts hitherto given of this momentous episode in our national history are singularly fragmentary and inaccurate. The recent discovery by the present writer of many documents not hitherto accessible to historical students clarifies the entire situation. Only now for the first time is it possible to throw into true perspective Boone's abortive effort to invade Kentucky in 1773, his relation to the Transylvania Company in the capacity of confidential agent, Henderson's prudent procedure in securing the highest legal sanction for the purchase, the details of the "Great Treaty" of Sycamore Shoals, the invasion of Kentucky in 1775, and the subsequent history, both governmental and corporate, of the Transylvania Company.

⁵⁶ Henderson, "Forerunners of the Republic: George Rogers Clark and the Western Crisis", *Neale's Monthly*, June, 1913; James, *George Rogers Clark Papers, 1771-1781* (Ill. Hist. Soc. Publications, vol. VIII.); Turner, "Western State-Making in the Revolutionary Era", *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, I, 70-87, 251-269.

⁵⁷ Cf. Henderson, "Forerunners of the Republic: Daniel Boone", *Neale's Monthly*, February, 1913.

ern colonization. The creative causes of the Westward movement were rooted, not in romance, but in economic enterprise, not in Providence, but in political vision. It was the Transylvania Company which at its own expense successfully colonized the Kentucky area with between two and three hundred men; and with true revolutionary ardor defying the royal authority as expressed through the crown governors of the colonies of North Carolina and Virginia, exhausted all means, through appeals to the Continental Congress, to Patrick Henry, Jefferson, and the Adamses, and finally to the legislature of Virginia, in their ultimately fruitless efforts to create a fourteenth American colony. And yet, despite this failure, Henderson and his associates furnished to the world "one of the most heroic displays of that typical American spirit of comprehensive aggrandizement of which so much is heard to-day".⁵⁸ It is a coincidence of historic significance that just one day after the dropping musketry at Lexington and Concord was heard round the world, Henderson and his little band reached the site of the future Boonesborough. Here the colonists reared a bulwark of enduring strength to resist the fierce incursions of bands of hostile savages during the period of the American Revolution. Unquestionably the strenuous borderers, with their roving instincts, would in any event ultimately have established impregnable strongholds in the Kentucky area. But had it not been for the Transylvania Company and Daniel Boone, no secure stronghold, to protect the whites against the savages, might have been established and fortified in 1775. In that event, the American colonies, convulsed in a titanic struggle, might well have seen Kentucky overrun by savage hordes, led by English officers, throughout the Revolution. In consequence, the American colonies at the close of the Revolution would probably have been compelled to leave in British hands the vast and fertile regions beyond the Alleghanies.

ARCHIBALD HENDERSON.

⁵⁸ Hulbert, *Pilots of the Republic*.